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The Razakar Movement in Hyderabad

"On the political chessboard of Hyderabad was played a game which rivetted for a time the attention of the whole country. What was the game, who were the players and what stakes did they play for are matters which are still shrouded in a mist of general ignorance". Very few people have any clear idea about the struggle for independence which was ensued by the Muslims of Hyderabad for nearly two decades and which, in the end, met with a sudden and tragic collapse. It was a tragedy which affected not only the Muslims of the state or of the sub-continent, but its repercussions were felt on the Hindus of the State as well. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Governor of the United Provinces, when the news of the fall of Hyderabad, was conveyed to her is reported to have burst into tears before a group of Journalists, and cried out in grief 'Ah my country'.[1]

The fall of Hyderabad was the fall of the Muslims of the state. With the extinction of the Asif Jahi dynasty, which had ruled over Hyderabad for nearly two hundred years the even last remnant of the Great Mughals was wiped out of the political scene of India. Though the Muslims of India emerged as a new nation in the newly established state of Pakistan, the Muslims of Hyderabad having failed in their cause of preserving the independence of Hyderabad as a Muslim state, were ruined both materially and mentally. They were completely suppressed. Nature had been unkind to them. They tried very hard, to presevere their intity but they lacked those very qualities which the so called "Mutineers" of 1857 had also lacked, and they were bound to fail, and they failed miserably. Their failure brought misery, dishonour and hardships to all, and peace to none. Indian Union may think the Government of India came as saviours of the people—they may have been even acclaimed as such, but in this they only deceive themselves. What they did achieve, and what has been admitted by leading Hindu leaders like Pandit Sunder Lal and Narsing Rao, was large scale murder, arson and rape, committed on a defenceless community.

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1. An Article on Hyderabad, by Zia-ul-Hasan, Mosur, Published in an Urdu Daily of Karachi-Hurriyat dated, 11th December, 1962.

The end of Hyderabad was also the end of the dreams of the Indian Mussalmans who had looked on Hyderabad as a place of refuge where they could get shelter and security with open arms if and when the need arose. But in the hour of their misfortunes, the Muslims of Hyderabad stood alone. Even their own sovereign betrayed them. Their point of view was also not understood by the outsiders. To make matters worse, the press played a prominent part in the mis-guiding public opinion in British India. Thousands of newspaper report, statements, interviews and articles were published, which if credited, would lead one to the irresistible conclusion that Muslim rule in Hyderabad was tyrannical, autocratic and oppressive for the Hindu majority. The Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was a communal minded organization aiming at the complete annihilation of the Hindus of the state;[2] and the Razakars were a 'shock brigade', organized by the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen as a means of carrying out their programme of establishing a 'theocratic and totalitarion State'.[3]

People outside Hyderabad held fantastic ideas about the Razakars and their activities. Some condemned them as a destructive communal minded force, which was a menance to the prosperity of the state; while others eulogised them as the defenders of the helpless Muslims. There were still others who thought that they were a part of the State's regular army.

The Razakars, were a voluntary organisation under Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. They were an important part of the independence movement of the Hyderabadi Muslims In the later years of the independence movement, they proved to be the only agency of the Majlis through which it worked out its programme and by which, it defended the scanty Muslim population of the state against the onslaughts of the communal minded majority. Like the National Guards of the French Revolution they gained so much importance in the course of time that they not only roused the slumbering people of the state to the dangers of an Indian invasion, but by their rallies, and the imposing personality of their leaders Bahadur Yar Jung and Syed Qasim Rizvi, eloquent utterances, and organized propaganda, they

2. V. P. Menon, the Story of the Integration of the Indian States, p. 321.

3. Ibid.

created a lot of interest outside Hyderabad too amongst the Muslims of the subcontinent.

The population of Hyderabad was predominantly Hindu, the ratio of Hindu to Muslim population being approximately 86 : 14. Although the Hindu Mahasabahists accused the Muslim rulers of Hyderabad, of adopting a policy which was aimed at making the state 'a theocratic Muslim State', it is interesting to note that inspite of six hundred years of Muslim rule, the Hindus of the state could claim such a "thumping majority leaving the ruling and so called privileged class in a miserable minority"[4].

As a matter of fact the Muslim rulers of Hyderabad, following in the footsteps of the great Mughals, practised a policy of toleration towards the non-Muslims of the state. There is not a single instance of a Nizam being a bigot. It was the only state in India which exhibited to the world a spectacle of complete communal harmony, mutual tolerance and goodwill between the two major communities.[5]

Mir Usman Ali Khan, Nizam VII's statement which he issued in 1352 of Hijri era,[6] may be cited in support of this :

> "Whatever may be the religion of my house and my own personal belief, I am, as a Ruler, the follower of another religion as well, which must be characterized as 'love towards all'; because under me live people of different faiths and different communities and the protection of their houses of worship has for long been part of the constitution of my state. I do not desire, therefore, to injure with narrow-mindedness the susceptibilities of any community or faith or to distort the practice of my own religion in such a manner as to earn the title of a bigot. It has throughout been my principle and that of my forefathers

4. Abdus Salam, "The how, why and wherefore of the Hyderabad struggle" p. 1.

5. Birggs, Gribble and General Frazer pay glowing tributes to the kings of the Asif Jahi dynasty for following a policy of toleration and love towards the Hindus. Mr. Krishnaswami Mudiraj and Rosita Forbes, the author of "India of the Princes" also Praise Mir Usman Ali Khan for his benevolence towards the Hindus.

6. Sheikh Yaqub Ali, Hayat-i-Usmani, p. 298.

to look upon all religions without difference or distinction, and to cause no weakening of our rule by interference in the practice of any religion. In my capacity of a ruler, I consider myself to be without any religion, not in the sense of being an atheist but in the sense of being without bias as a Ruler for or against any particular religion or community. In that faith, I and my forefathers have taken just pride and will continue to do so, and I trust that my descendants will also, God willing, follow the same principle ".[7]

The Nizam used to spend several lakhs of rupees annually on the maintenance and upkeep of several thousand temples within his dominions. But his detractors characterised it as a ' necessary and unavoidable evil '.

There was hardly any Indian state or British Indian province which, judged by its finances, internal progress, its industrial, educational and social, achievements, and its spirit of complete communal harmony, could stand comparison with Hyderabad.

Mr. Date, the author of the 'Bhaganagar struggle', and the most vivolent apponent spoke of him as a man of 'restless energy', simple in habits but possessing high ideals for extending his beneficial rule to all his subjects—irrespective of any caste or creed.

Living under an enlightened and a progressive ruler, the peopie of the state, for a long time did not feel the necessity or the urge for having a representative government. But Hyderabad could not rema n unaffected by the conditions prevailing in British India, where the national movement was in full swing. The Hindus of Hayderabad were soon affected by the Communal wirus which was fouling the stream of national life.

In nineteen thirties, the communalists turned their attention to Hyderabad—which rankled in their eyes as the only state presenting to the world, a spectacle of the bygone glories of Muslim rule.

Communal organizations like the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mohasabah, started agitating. This agitation was as sudden as it

7. Abdus Salam, The How, Why and Wherefore of the Hyderabad Struggle, pp. 4-5.

was unexpected. It was concieved in British India by men who surrendered to sentiments and who built up their plans on the rumours regarding the alleged repression of the Hindus in the Nizam's dominions. These agitations, writes Mr. Abdus Salam, 'were in the nature of epidemics contracted from outside. There was no disease in the body politic of the state to warrant their existence. They came, spent themselves and were gone leaving behind a few traces of their evil visitation.'[8]

Both the Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha, as institutions were initiated and organized in the state, by the British Indian subjects. Both had for their object the social, religious, economic and political regeneration of the Hindus.[9] The government of Hyderabad in the beginning had no quarrel with them, welcomed them thinking that they would help the government in uplifting of the Hindu masses. But they soon proved to be destructive rather than constructive forces creating disaffection between class and class which finally resulted in the breach of public peace and agitation against the Government.[10]

The Arya Samaj was introduced in Hyderabad in 1932 in Udgir in district Bidar, where it had its central organization known as the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, with branches in different parts—eighteen in the capital city alone.'[11] In the beginning its principal functions were to hold 'periodical congregations, organize processions, establish Akharas and employ missionaries for Shudhi and Sangathan work'—but in the course of time they slowly changed their programme and went beyond the sphere of religious and social reform and developed violent political and communal tendencies. The government was compelled to put an end to their activities and they were dealt with a strong hand.[12] They were completely suppressed in the district of Bidar, but the germs were transferred to Latur in district of Usmanabad.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that just as the history of Europe had a profound influence on the history of Anglo-French

8. Abdus Salam, 27.

9. Ibid, Also see Tarikh i-Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen by Salim Gandhri and Syed Shabbar Hatmi.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, Also see Hyderabad Administration, by Mr. Aney.

struggle in India, in the same way the politics of Brilish India affected the politics of Hyderabad in every way, at this time. There as enough evidence to believe that Indian elements deliberately encouraged unrest in Hyderabad with the idea of providing opportunities for the miscreants who were raiding Hyderabad from bases in India to take advantage of the discontentment prevailing in the state, and to indulge in their nefarious work.[13]

This policy was given a further impetus by the introduction of the Government of India Act of 1935. The two most important clauses of the this Act were (1) formation of an Indian federation comprising the British Indian provinces and the Indian states (2) the introduction of provincial antonomy. The Government found it difficult to put the former clause into practice, but it was able to execute the latter. By 1937, the Indian National Congress had also, accepted the Act of 1935 and in seven provinces Congress Governments were formed. This fact encouraged the Hindus, and profoundly infludnced the activities of the subversive elements in the state. Following the political idealogy of the Congress, the forces of agitation started a planned and organized compaign against the ruler of Hyderabad. Although the Indian National Congress had from time to time denied any participation or encouragement on their part to these forces, the activities of the state congress in Hyderabad go a long way to prove that they were definitely supported by them.[14] They were further encouraged by the declaration made by the Prime Minister of Hyderabad to the effect that responsible Government would be introduced in the state, for the implementation of which he had appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Aiyangar to submit a report to the Government on the question of granting reforms. This announcement came as a boon to the Hindus, and they look full advantage of it.

After 1935, the Arya Samajists started open agitition. 'Armed processions, law breaking and defiance of orders, organized subversive propaganda, creating disaffection against the state and racial hatred

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12. See White paper on Arya Samaj Movement in Hyderabad, published by the Government of Hyderabad.

13. Hyderabad's Relations with the Dominion of India prepared by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar VIII, p. 15.

14. See Tarikh-i-Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, also see Abdus Salam.

among the different communities, living in the Dominion, offensive preaching against other religions and communities, and active subversive agitation against the state, both within and without,—these were some of the conspicuous activities of the Arya Smajists.[15] As a result several communal riots followed in quick succession in Latur and in adjoining areas, especially in the villages,[16] in which thousands of Muslims perished.

These riots awakened the Muslims to the danger which loomed over their heads. Consequently, a Muslim organization was formed in Latur for the purpose of self-defence only. It was named as Anjuman-i Dafa-i-Muslimeen, and branches of it were opened in the districts of Bidar, Usmanabad and Paigah Gangoti. The object of this organisation was to provide means of defence to the scanty Muslim population of the villages. They were even provided secretly with weapons to fight the aggressors. This organization latter gave rise to the future Razakar movement.

In 1938, the Muslims of the capital city also realized the danger that was threatening them from every corner. They felt the need for a closer union between all sections of the Muslims and for the first time they thought in terms of taking an active part in the politics of the country. They rightly thought that they would be completely wiped out of Hyderabad if they remained passive any longer. Instead of a new organization, they changed the character of the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, from religious to a political organization. It soon became the only repesentative body of the Muslims in Hyderabad State.

Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen was inaugrated in 1927, by a group

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15. Abdus Salam, p. 31. Mr. Abdus Salam gives a good account of the activities of the Arya Samajists in Hyderabad. Also see Tarikh-i-Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen.

16. It is interesting to note that these communal riots were confined to the districts and the villages, where the Muslims being in miserable minority could not defend themselves against the onslaughts of the majority. Mr. Abdus Salam has rightly defined the anti-Muslim agitation in Hyderabad as resembling to the story of the wolf who, being determined to eat the lamb, but not wanting to appear high-handed, said to the latter, "I am going to kill you because you abused me two years ago", The lamb looked surprised and said: "I was not even born at that time", "Then it must have been your father", said the wolf ' add proceded to his nafarious work, p. 26.

of Muslims with a view to bring about unity among the different sections of the Muslims of Hyderabad by removing all difference, dividing them. It was by no means apolitical party, its aim being to bring the Muslims closer to one another. It consisted of leaders of all sections of the Muslim population of the state[17], who occasionally held meetings in private houses to discuss means of meeting the situation created by militant Hindu nationalism. Politics never formed a part of their deliberations. Maulana Band-e-Hassan, Maulana Hakim Maqsood Ali, Maulana Sabir Hussaini and Maulvi Mahmood Nawaz Khan were some of the leading Musalmans who took a prominent part in these meetings[18]. This organization was first named as Majis-i-Ittehad-bain-ul-Muslimeen—however, later on, in 1928, the word 'Bain' was removed and its name was modified to its present form.[19]

The main aim of the Majlis as said before, was to create unity among the Muslims of the state and safeguard their interests in the educational, cultural and economic fields of their life. It had not yet entered into the political arena. nor was it directed against the non-Muslims of the state as thought by many Hindus[20] The only time it rasied its voice in defence of the Muslims was in December 1932, when Vaman Naik a Sabhaist accused the Government of the Nazim of discriminating against the Hindus of the State. It was mintained by him that the majority was being crushed by the privileged minority. It was on this occasion that the Majlis issued a pamphlet to the effect that the declaration of Vamana Naik was directed to harm the communal harmony in the state. It was regretted that the sabhaists were exploiting the situation by publishing wrong statments and attributing them to the Government.[21]

Apart from this pamphlet which was issued by the Majlis, one does not find any other poblical or Communal move on the part of the Majlis which might prove that it was a political or even semi-political organization. During all this period Maulvi Mahmood Nawaz Khan was its president.

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17. Tarikh-Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, pp. 33-34.
18. Ibid.
19. Tarikh-Majlis-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, p. 34 ; for details see pp. 35—37.
20. See Hyderabad-ki-Awami Jung, by C. M. Rady for a History of the Majlis.
21. Tarikh Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen p. 37, for details see pp. 37—44. ,

As mentioned earlier, it was in 1938 that the Muslims of the state realized for the first time the dangers of remaining passive in politics, especially after the announcement made by the Prime Minister of Hyderabad about the introduction of reforms in the state. The use were several anti-Muslim Hindu organizations in the state, there was no organization to represent and safeguard Muslim interests. A meeting was held by the Majlis under the presidentship of Maulana Abdul Qadeer Siddiqi, Head of the Department of Islamiyat, Usmania Univeristy, on 14th Feberuary 1938, in which a political clause was added to the constitution of the Majlis. From there on, began the struggle for the preservation and continuance of the Asif Jahi dynasty which was the symbol of Muslim supremacy, and by which alone the Muslims could hope to exist in the state.

It is wrong to think like Mr. C. M. Reddy and many other Hindu writers that the Majlis was a reactionary body working against the high principles of Democracy. Democracy can be a very dangerous form of government if the majority is poisoned with communalism as was the case in British India and of which, the Muslims of Hyderabad had enough experience to expect the same in their own state if the majority rule was introduced. Under such circumstances, it was safe to continue with monarchy, rather that abolish it, for monarchy alone could bring prosperity to the state by keeping the two major communities at peace.

With its entrance into the political arena, the Majlis undertook the tremendous task of creating political consciousness among the Muslim masses. This difficult task of rousing them fell to the lot of Bahadur Yar Jung, when he came to the helm of affairs. A man of a 'magnificent personality with charming manners and strong commonsense- and an Urdu orator of the highest order with unsurpassable fluency'—he soon became the idol of not only Hyderabadi Muslims but of the Muslims of the whole undivided India. Musalmans must unite and claim their legitimate share in the political life of the country was the basis of his programme. He succeeded wonderfully in achieving this object and soon the government had to sit up and take notice of what the Ittehad said and did.

He next diverted his attention to further strengthening communal harmony which was the characteristic of Hyderabad and which was being

endangered by new proposed political and constilutional changes. The State congress, the Arya Samajists and the Sabhaists, who had been spreading uneist in the state for a long time now started satyagarah and in consequence several communal riots took place. The severest of them broke out in Dhoolpet, in Hyderabad proper in 1939, in which many Muslims perished including two of Bahadur Yar Jung's nephews. Bahadur Yar Jung appointed a commission of the Majlis to tour the provinces especially in Marathwara and to report on the conditions prevailing there. Syed Qasim Rizvi, who later on became the President of the Majlis and who played a very prominent part in the last days of the struggle, submitted a report on the conditions existing in the districts. After studying the report, it was considered necessary that branches of the Majlis should be opened in every part of the state and recommended that the Razakar movement should be introduced in to all places to counteract the activities of the anti-Muslim elements. The other thing which the Majlis thought essential at this stage was to acquaint the public opinion in British India with the viewpoint of the Hyderabadi Muslims. Consequently the case of the Muslims of the state was presented by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Maulvi Ahmad Abdullah all Masdoosi at the All Indian Muslim League session held at Patna in 1939[22]. So the Muslims of British India felt a kind of sympathy for the Muslims of Hyderabad, and realized that the struggle of the Hyderabadi Muslims was not different from their own struggle. And when on January 22nd 1932, the Arya Samajists organized an All India Hyderabad Day, the Muslims of British India took up the cause of their bretherns.

While discussing the history of the Majlis, it would be interesting to say a word or two about the working of the Majlis also. It was divided in three units-viz.

(1) Primary Majlis.

(2) District Majlis and

(3) Central Majlis.

The Primary Majlis, which was the smallest unit, consisted of the 100 members, and was confined to villages only. Village where 100

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22. I am very grateful to Maulvi Ahmad Abdullah al-Masdoosi for providing me with details about his participation in the All India Muslim League session at Patna, along with Bahadur Yar Jung, to present the case of the Hyderabadi Muslims.

members could not be collected, could form units in colaboration with other villages. Every Primary Majlis had a right to send one member to a district Majlis and the District Majlis elected from amongst their own members their quota for the central Majlis. The representatives of districts formed the central Majlis. Every Majlis had a president of its own. The Razakars were under the authority and supervision of the Central Majlis[23].

The danger from Communalists was confined mostly to Marathwara. Telingana and Karnatik were not affected so badly. So the Razakar movement, in the beginning was more active in Marathwara than in other parts of the state—though later on it was extended to other areas also, Politically, the Razakars, as said before, were under the Majlis. 'but in regard to their oparations they were commanded by a Salar. They were provided with arms by the Central Majlis.

Between 1939-40 the communist movement became on organized in Telingana and started its activities in the adjoining areas. It was a destructive movement—which refused reconciliation with any opposition and riots followed in quick succession. As the aim of the communists of creating unrest in the country was identical to that of the Arya Samajists, communalism was dragged in too—with the result that in Telingana, communism and communalism formed a combined force against the Muslims. So while in Marathwara, the Muslims had to face the communalists, in Telingana they had to face both the communists and the communalists—and in both the places their only hope and support were the Razakars.

In 1942, the president of the Majlis, Bahadur Yar Jung died. He fell a victim to the petty jealousies and intrigues which had set in the Majlis, and against which the Nawab did not take any precautions. He was not popular with the then government too—and his position with the Nizam was equally precarious—who being an intensely jealous man, was averse to see anyone so popular or powerful. It was only after his death that everyone realized what they had lost.

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23. I am grateful to Syed Qasim Rizvi, the expresident of the Majlis, and the leader of the Razakar movement for supplying me with the details and helping me a great deal in writing this article.

Demise of the late Nawab brought into open the various parties who were clamouring for power and Abul Hasan Syed Ali—a local lawyer drew first blood. He was not the dominating personality that Bahadur Yar Jung was, and though he formed a strong party within the Ittehad he could not hold his position long and soon had to vacate his place for Maulana Mazhar Ali Kamil, who became the next President of the Majlis. The Maulana, a kind and a gentle person, would not think unkindly of anybody, and was too weak for the situation, and soon his lieutenants got the upper hand, and the Maulana was President in name only. Mazhar Ali Kamil couid not hold his own for long and had to make room for Syed Kasim Rizvi—a lawyer from Latur, whose sincerity and loyalty to the cause of the Muslims and Hyderabad was never in doubt. He was a man of short stature, a charming and a dynamic personality, and a fine orator and a man who expressed his patriotic views in no veiled manner. He soon had the Muslim masses at his back and call. The Muslims wanted a strong leader to whom they could look up, especially after the unpleasantness between the Nizam and the late Quaid-i-Azam[24]—and in Qasim Rizvi they saw the man of their dreams. While the late Bahadur Yar Jung always expressed himself in a dignified manner, Razvi hit straight at the point, and that is what the masses wanted in the circumstances in which they found themselves. After Sir Mirza Ismail took over as Prime Minister of the State, two persons holding diagnolly opposite views were bound to clash sooner or later and a battle between them started almost immediately after Sir Mirza Ismail took over. The final clash came about the middle of 1947, and Sir Mirza who had by then lost the confidence of the Nizam resigned. Razvi, who had achieved this miracle in three months went up sky in the estimation of the masses—and he had stabilised his position.[25]

After 1947, full attention was given by the central Majlis to the

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24. For details see Sir Mirza Ismail " My public Life " and articles published in an Urdu Weekly Ittelaat of the Hyderabad Trust, Karachi dated 1st August, 1955, 1st September, 1955, 16th October, 1955 and 1st November, 1955 by Mr. Zahid Hussain, Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, Mazhar Ali Kamil and Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan respectively.

25. Personal diary of Mr. Ashfaq Ahmed Khan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad. I am grateful to Syed Qasim Razvi and Mr. Ashfaq Ahmad Khan for supplying me with details of the history of the Majlls after 1947 about which there is very little material available.

Razakar Movement, which had dwindled more or less after the death of Bahadur Yar Jung. Razvi coming fresh from the district of Usmanabad, where he was practising law in Latur, was in a better position to understand the need of strengthening the Razakars for the defence of the Muslims. Financially too, the condition of the Majlis had improved and it was in a position to provide the Razakars with arms. Moreover, Hyderabad at this time was getting desperately short of the necessities of life, as Indian Union had blocked her from all sides, and what is more, she was also short of arms and ammunitions which were so necessary for the maintenance of law and order. Law and order had, however, to be maintained at all costs and all avenues were explored. It was the result of these explorations that the so dreaded Razakar organization came into the limelight. Every political party has a volunteer organization of some sort and it was decided to expand this organization with some home made ineffective weapons. Their members naturally had to be large. This organization grew into formidable proportions in no time and their selfless work was of great value. Small groups of this organization were posted all over the dominion borders and also in areas which were expected to give trouble. As the Ramanand Tirath inspired raids increased, the utility of Razakars became clearer and they did some yeomen service in protection of life and property of border village inhabitants. Qasim Razvi was aiming to raise the strength of this organization to 5 lakhs and his spirited appeals began to bear fruits. Schools and college students left their education and joined the ranks of the Razakar organization. As it was difficult to supply eyeryone with a uniform only 1/3 of the Razakars were given uniforms, while the rest were given only badges.

For the training of the Razakars, the Majlis secured the services of the retired army men—and when the danger of the Indian attack became acute, the Razakars were placed under the command of the army.

Syed Qasim Razvi, the leader of the Razakar Movement was extremely proud of his organization and rightly so—for the services rendered by these young volunteers were of great value. These young men were not expected to defend the country against the Indian Union —for that was the job of the State's army. The Razakars were organiz-

ed only for the maintenance of law and order within the borders of the Nizam's dominions.

It was only at a very late stage, that the Razakars were made over to the army, on the discovery that the army was not strong enough to defend the state—and it was arranged that in the case of war with India, the first line of defence would be the army, and the Razakars would form the second line of defence behind the army. And it was Razakars indeed, who continued to fight even when the army had surrendered after three days of fighting. And according to Qasim Razvi the Razakars would have continued to fight a guerilla war with India for years before submitting shamelessly like the army, if they had been provided with proper weapons.

The Razakars movement, inspite of all services it rendered to the Muslims of the state, became extremely unpopular even among certain sections of the Muslim population during the last days of the struggle —and with due respects to their valuable services—there was enough ground for such a change of opinion. While the organization was small, supervision was effective, but as the number grew, supervision became loose and discipline lax. 'There are unsocial elements everywhere who are on the look out for opportunities like this and in to the fold of the Razakars also came in a number of such persons whose aims and objects were miles apart from what the Razakars stood for. These elements soon became pests, and started arson, loot and rape'. Every effort was made to put an end to such a state of affairs, but that required a strong leadership. Bahadur Yar Jung might have come up to the occasion if he had been alive; Qasim Razvi was a great leader no doubt, but he was a man of sentiments, who made the masses sway by their sentiments too—and when the situation was out of hands, he could not control it alone. It is a great misfortune that the Majlis, in their hour of excitement closed their eyes to the realities and committed certain blunders, for which the Muslim of the state had to suffer. There may be some exaggeration in the reports of the Hindu sources, of the atrocities committed by the Razakars. It has to be confessed with regret that within a short period the Razakars who had been doing such useful work became a menace to the security of the state and the Ittehad itself. They became completely out of control and even Razvi beeame despondent. Love of wealth and unrestained power took hold of the Razakars who became a law unto themselves and times

out of number turned their attention to even the Muslims from whom in a number of cases they extorted large sums of money under pressure. Razvi's efforts to bring in some retired army officials to tighten discipline had some slight effect—but not much. Demands of scandulous nature started pouring in. Administration started crumbling, and the general tendency in the services was to look to Ittehad for support rather than the government.[26] The Government also could not control the situation and it seemed that Ittehad was the only power in the state.

It was a tragedy for which it is difficult to say who was responsible. Ittehad was sincere and fully realized the responsibility it had overtaken. Just as in France after the great Revolution, the revolutioners in their hour of excitment, lost hold of their high ideals and indulged in rowdism, in the same way the Razakars who began so well became victims of rowdy elemants and soon they were not protecting the lives of the people but had became aggressors themselves.

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26. Personal diary of Mr. Ashfaq Ahmad Khan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad.